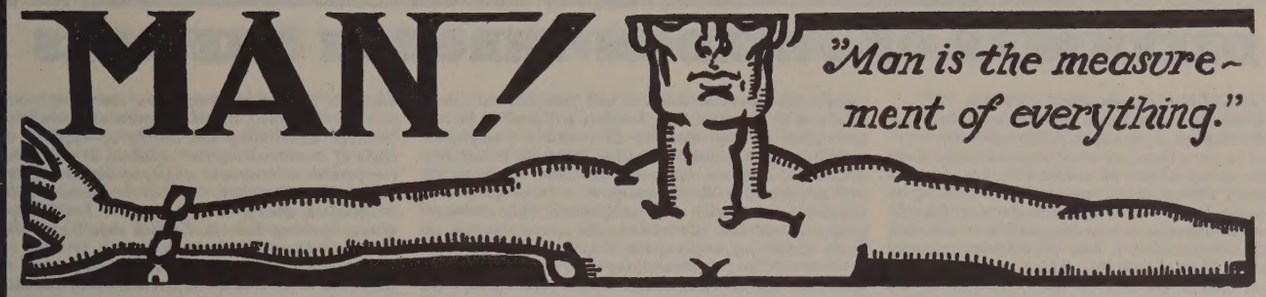
MAN!



"Man is the measure-ment of everything."

If There Is Anything That Cannot Bear Free Thought—Let It Crack—WENDELL PHILLIPS

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IN RETROSPECT OF CURRENT EVENTS

The New Crisis Facing America

The Special Congress Session called by President Roosevelt is already deliberating, and the great American populace is awaiting the long heralded miracles to begin in unfolding themselves. But it seems already quite clear that they are again in for a keen and disheartening disillusionment.

Instead of the long awaited "great" measures that Mr. Roosevelt was to place before Congress in behalf of the millions of unemployed, and the millions of underpaid men, women and children toilers of America—he has brought forward a program whereby only the plunderers of the people will, as heretofore, be enabled to benefit from.

Mr. Roosevelt has already conferred with Floyd L. Carlisle, leading utility executive, in regards to a new nationwide housing program. Private business is to have full charge of this government insured plan in expending 16 billion dollars, and a *carte blanche* in reducing wages to their heart's content.

Joseph P. Kennedy, leading Wall Street figure, and presently Chairman of the United States Maritime Commission, is now busily engaged with administration leaders to repeal or raise the undivided corporate profits tax and other business levies. Revision of revenue laws are also contemplated.

Annual subsidies to ship owners is to be increased from 10 to 25 millions; cotton growers will sacrifice $200,000,000 this year rather than plant all their acres; farmers will receive $1,500,000 to feed potatoes to livestock instead of humans; other crops will be plowed under.

Over 8,000,000 remain unemployed and over 30,000,000 have almost nothing. For these two classes a wage-hour law is contemplated, and if passed, will prove as of little benefit as did all labor legislation that has ever been passed.

These are the news of the day from the political arena.

From the industrial field comes news revealing *the true picture of the people's want and misery.*

The greatest migration of Negro labor from the midsouth has occured. Thousands of starved negroes from the cotton country of Arkansas, Tennessee, Louisiana and Mississippi left for the industrial centres of the middle west in the hope of finding food and shelter. In California relief camps seem to be about the only hope left for the thousands of migratory workers. In Arizona, the State's superintendent of health, Dr. Coit I. Hughes, states to Governor Stantford, that: *"I regret to report that there appears to be an alarming degree of malnutrition among the school children of Arizona. . . . There is a grave doubt that many of the children in our schols receive as much as one wholesome meal a day."*

From the Tiff Mine and Shrimp Field area the National Child Labor Committee reports in Missouri youngsters of 6 and 8 plodding to work at 3 and 4 o'clock in the morning, and receiving even less than $2.00 per week!

Statistical figures from Wall Street report an unabated increase in corporation profits, in some instances equalling those of the pre-1929 period. Labor costs in the leading industries are still from 50 to 80 per cent lower than they were in 1929.

The picture of America—the factual one—is a sad and depressing one. Poverty and suffering for the masses on one hand. On the other hand profits for the few, and every conceivable plan, via the government, to safeguard and perpetuate the fleecers in continuing their unmerciful game of legalized robbery of the wealth produced by the people, and the limitation of production in order to maintain the profit system.

Let those who wish to remain blind sing hossanas to President Roosevelt's presumed endeavors to usher in a "new deal."

Those though who can distinguish daylight from darkness, truth from lies—must conclude that President Roosevelt has all along, and most consistently, proven to be about the best servant that capitalism in America could ever have hoped to have at the head of its government—in the most critical time of its existence. With a Hoover or Landon in the White House, this country might have witnessed already a Social Revolution. Mr. Roosevelt has repeatedly assured the country that he has saved the country from revolution. He only failed to make mention of the fact that *he has thereby saved the present system at the expense of the millions of the needy, robbed, and suffering masses of America!*

When the oppressed of America learn the truth, not all the liars of the land—press, church and radio—shall prevent the people from rising in a Social Rebellion in behalf of the dawn of genuine Justice, Equality and Happiness for each and all alike.

* * *

The Sino-Japanese War

Blood of thousands of men, women and children flows over the soil of China. Thousands upon thousands of bodies are being cold-bloodedly murdered by the invading Japanese army. And as in Spain, the fascist invader has the tacit backing of presumably democratic countries, such as Great Britain, France and the United States. Without the financial resources and commercial relationship existing between the last named three "democratic" powers and Japan, how long could fascist Japan carry on its bloody war of destruction against the people of China? Not for very long. And could not one say identically the same about Italy, Germany, France—who likewise are enabled to carry on their plunderous-massacre—war against the people of Spain by the grace and good-will cooperation of the very same three "democratic" powers? Or, what about the Brazilian dictatorship of a Vargas that has been made possible by the blessings of friendship bestowed upon it last year by the personal visit of President Roosevelt, plus the recent setting aside of 100 million dollars by Washington in order to stabilize that country's currency?

In the heart of China the politicians of the left parties, socialist and communist alike, have joined hands with the worst reactionary ruling oppressors of the Chinese people, instead of utilizing the present opportunity for arousing and inspiring the people to overthrow and discard forever their oppressors at home. Only such a move could have assured a triumphant resistance to fascist Japan.

But, as in the instance of Spain, the canker of *Compromise* has eaten itself into China as it did into Spain, all, thanks to the spreading influence of Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist ideologies. The price for such compromise? One need but look with open eyes at what has been going on in Spain for the last seventeen months in order to fully realize the terrible price that the people of China are doomed to pay as did and are paying the people of Spain.

Mankind's struggle for social liberation cannot achieve any worthwhile success as long as the people keep on listening and supporting the political jugglers of Karl Marx's disciples—any more than those ever-so-often exposed charlatanistic jugglers of the imperialist "democracies" of France, England and United States.

It is only when the people shall awaken and begin to trust in themselves, and in their inherent ability to achieve liberation, that mankind will begin to witness the *dawn* of a new day—*the dawn of freedom.*

OUR SIXTH YEAR

The completion of our fifth year of existance finds MAN! facing the most critical test in its whole life. It is obviously clear now to all that the Government is bent upon the stifling of our voice. Our crisis becomes then, equally so, also a challenge to every reader who values Freedom of Thought and Freedom of Expression. Those of us who have undertaken the task of publishing MAN! in Los Angeles, regularly every month, have fulfilled our objective now for the fifth consecutive month, despite all obstacles. And, we are just as determined to continue our work, as the Government is to bring it to an end.

As in the past, we rely solely on the moral and material support of those only who value the work we are doing and the battle that we are engaged in. It is their response that will assure the regular monthly appearance of MAN! for the year of 1938.

P. S.: We call everyone's attention ot the change of our address, which is from now on (pending the state of persecution):

MAN!
c/o The American Civil Liberties Union
129 West Second St., Los Angeles, Calif.

Who Is Betraying Spain?

In speaking of the October elections in France, the *New Masses* (Oct. 26-37) felt quite elated over the fact that the Socialists have increased their parliamentary seats by 81 and the Communists by 30. It said: *"The fascists suffered a setback . . . France has once more demonstrated that unity on the left means victory on the left."*

But what the *New Masses* failed to mention was, the glaring fact of the French left front's responsibility in the betrayal of the Spanish people's struggle against world fascism.

Furthermore, as late as its issue of December 7, the *New Masses* had not a word to say about the reported admission of Litvinov, made before the League of Nations on September 29th, that: *"We have sacrificed Spain for the sake of peace,"* an admission that but completes the betrayal of the Russian government against the people of Spain, ever since it joined the infamous non-intervention committee conceived by British Imperialism.

One doubts if, in the annals of the history of labor's struggles, a worse treachery has ever been enacted than the one that we have been witnessing since July, 1936. And the names of the Blums and the Stalins, as well as of those who openly attempt to justify this indefensible betrayal, will go down in history—covered with those marks of Cain that such misacts so rightfully deserve.

The oppressed of the world will have learned another lesson of the futility in trusting that this or that leader or party will or ever can prove anything else but a hindrance in the marching struggle for human liberation.

* * *

"The King Can Do No Wrong!"

Suppose, dear reader, I venture to reveal a story of how radicals in the vicinity of Hearst's New York *Examiner* have recently kidnapped one of his most ardent boot-lickers, the Nietzchian pen-prostitute Mr. Benjamin De Caesserrs, brought him to the headquarters of the radicals where he was administered such a severe beating that he subsequently died in a hospital?

I can see the amazement with which the reader has met the revelation, wondering as to its authenticity. Well, let your soul rest at ease, dear reader. For it's only an invented fable. Had it been a true fact, at least a half a dozen leading radicals, would by now be facing the ordeal of the Chicago Anarchists of 1887, not to speak of the hundreds of jailed and third degreed radicals that would have likewise been held on "suspicion."

But, suppose we stop relating fables and, instead, state a fact as to how the police of Tampa, Florida, kidnapped a well known radical named Joseph Shoemaker, had him taken to the police headquarters and administered to him such severe beatings that he subsequently died therefrom? And furthermore—that a "legally" chosen "jury" recently found everyone of the accused on the police force—*as not guilty?*

You'd better believe the fact rather than the fable.

"The King can do no wrong." In this instance, the law badge holders and sworn "servants" of the people. Not even *then* when they murder in cold blood one of the gullible people who helped to enthrone them as servants in one's own behalf.

If the people still fail to comprehend the correctness of the anarchist assertion that the State never was intended to, never has been or can be anything but the subjugator and misruler—against the very life-interests of the people, than the acquital of the police in Florida who have murdered Joseph Shoemaker has, as yet, served no good purpose or lesson.

Marcus Graham

I am not a citizen of America, England or Germany. I am a citizen of that country in which a man is permitted to advocate any religion, or no religion—Catholicism or Atheism; where a man is permitted to preach in favor of absolute government or no government — Autocracy or Anarchy; where a man may express himself in favor of any marriage system, or no marriage system—Monogomy or Variety. I am a citizen of that country where ideas are not branded as crimes; where thought is not chained behind prison bars; where freedom is a fact, not a fiction; where Social Ostracism is not the fate of those who really think. Where is this Country, and what is its name? Oh, this Country is far, far away, and its name is The Future!

—VICTOR ROBINSOLL.

DEFENDERS OF FREEDOM THROUGH THE AGES

JOHN MILTON: Areopagitica (1664).

. . . Who kills a man kills a reasonable creature . . . but he who destroys a good book, kills reason itself. . . . We should be wary therefore what persecutions we raise against the living labours of public men, how we spill that seasoned life of man, preserved and stored up in books; since we see a kind of homicide may thus be committed, sometimes a martyrdom, and if it extended to the whole impression, a kind of massacre, whereof the execution ends not in the slaying of an elemental life, but strikes at the ethereal and fifth essence, the breath of reason itself; slays in immortality rather than a life.

. . . Read any books whatever come to thy hands, for thou art sufficient both to judge aright, and to examine each matter. . . . If we think to regulate printing, thereby to rectify manners, we must regulate all recreations and pastimes, all that is delightful to man. No music must be heard, no song be set or sung. . . . There must be licensing dancers, that no gesture, motion, or deportment be taught our youth but what by their allowance shall be thought honest. . . . And who shall silence all the airs and madrigals that whisper softness in chambers? The windows also, and the balconies must be thought on, there are shrewd books, with dangerous frontspieces, set to sale; who shall prohibit them, shall twenty licensers?

. . . And were I the chooser, a dram of well doing should be preferred before many times as much the forcible hindrances of evil doing. . . . If the amendment of manners be aimed at, look into Italy and Spain, whether those places be one scruple better, the honester, the wiser, the chaster, since all the inquisitional rigour that hath been executed upon books.

When a man writes to the world, he summons up all his reason and deliberation to assist him . . . the hasty view of an unleisured licenser, perhaps a much his younger, perhaps far inferior in judgment, perhaps one who never knew the labour of book-writing . . . it cannot be but a dishonour and derogation to the author, to the book, to the privilege and dignity of Learning.

We boast our light; but if we look not wisely at the Sun itself, it smites us into darkness. . . . The light which we have gained, was given us, not to be ever staring on, but by it to discover onward things more remote from our knowledge.

Give me the liberty to know, to utter, and to argue freely according to conscience, above all other liberties.

And though all the winds of doctrine were let loose to play upon the earth, so Truth be in the field, we do injuriously by licensing and prohibiting to misdoubt her strength. Let her and falsehood grapple; whoever knew Truth put to worse, in a free and open encounter. Her confuting is the best and surest suppressing.

* * *

BENEDICT SPINOZA: From His Collected Works, (1620-1677).

We have seen already that no man's mind can possibly lie wholly at the disposition of another, for no one can willingly transfer his natural right of free reason and judgment, or be compelled to do so. For this reason government which attempts to control minds is accounted tyrannical. . . . All these questions fall within a man's natural right, which he cannot abdicate even with his own consent. . . . Such being the constitution of human nature, we see that laws directed against opinions effect the generous-minded rather than the wicked, and are adapted less for coercing criminals than for irritating the upright; so that they cannot be maintained without great peril to the state.

* * *

JOHN LOCKE: From "Four Letters of Toleration in Religion," (1689).

For if men enter into seditious conspiracies, it is not religion inspires them to it in their meetings, but their sufferings and oppressions that make them willing to ease themselves. . . . Believe me, the stirs that are made, proceed not from any peculiar temper of this or that church or religious society; but from the common disposition of all mankind, who when they groan under any heavy burthen, endeavor naturally to shake off the yoke that galls their necks. . . . But there is only one thing which gathers people into seditious commotions, and that is oppression.

* * *

M. DE VOLTAIRE: "A Treatise on Religious Toleration," (about 1750).

The rights of humanity are in all cases founded on the laws of nature, the great and universal principle, both of one and the other, being this. Do nothing to others which you would not have them do to you. Now I cannot see how, on this principle, one man is authorized to say to another, Believe what I believe, and what you cannot, or you shall be put to death. . . . The right of persecution is therefore absurd and barbarous; it is the right of tigers, tho' so much the more horrid, as the tigers have a plea of hunger, and devour men with a view to make them a prey; while men destroy each other for the sake of mere problems. . . .

* * *

Rev. ROBERT HALL: From "An Apology for the Liberty of the Press," (1793).

The most capital advantage an enlightened people can enjoy is the liberty of discussing every subject which can fall within the compass of the human mind; while this remains, freedom will flourish; but should it be lost or impaired, its principles will neither be well understood or long retained? To render the magistrate a judge of truth, and engage his authority in the suppression of opinions, shews an inattention to the nature and designs of political society. . . . In proportion as the world has become more enlightened, this unnatural policy of restraint has retired; the sciences it has entirely abandoned, and has taken its last stand on religion and politics. . . . Everything that is really excellent will bear examination, it will even invite it, and the more narrowly it is surveyed, to the more advantage will it appear.

* * *

THOMAS ERSKINE: From His Speeches, (about 1795).

The Press, then, as it is to be affected by Associations of individuals to better its general freedom, wholly unconnected with any attack upon private character, is a very different consideration; for if the nation is to be combined to suppress writings, without further describing what those writings are, than by the general denomination—seditious; and if the exertions of those combinations are not even to be confined to suppress and punish the circulation of books . . . —no man will venture either to write or speak upon the topics of Government or its administration—a freedom which has ever been acknowledged by our greatest statesmen and lawyers to be the principal safeguard of that Constitution which liberty of thought originally created, and which a FREE PRESS for its circulation gradually brought to maturity. . . . If in the legal and peaceable assertion of this Freedom we shall be calumniated and persecuted, we must be contented to suffer in the cause of Freedom, as our fathers before us have suffered; but we will, like our fathers, also presevere until we prevail. . . . Men cannot communicate their free thoughts to one another with a lash held over their heads. It is the nature of everything that is great and useful, both in the animate and inanimate world, to be wild and irregular—and we must be contented to take them with the allies which belong to them, or live without them. . . . The press must be free; it has always been so and much evil has been corrected by it. If Government finds itself annoyed by it, let it examine its own conduct and it will find the cause. . . .

* * *

TUNIS WORTMAN: From "Treatise Concerning Political Inquiry and Liberty of the Press," (1800).

It has been practically maintained by the advocates of mystery that a people can be governed only by stratagem and imposture. . . . But by what unheard-of arguments can it be maintained that the exercise of the rational faculties is criminal or prejudicial to the general welfare? Until this extraordinary position is established, no human legislature can deny our right to the most unbounded latitude of investigation. . . .

If government is the instrument . . . for the promotion of general good; if it is the creature in which they invested the powers for effecting the benevolent design for social felicity . . . the government which attempts to coerce the progress of opinion, or abolish freedom of investigation into political affairs, materially violates the most essential principles of the social state. . . . It will not perhaps be traveling too far into the regions of speculation, to assert, that in proportion as we become proficient in knowledge, our conduct will be governed by the regular influence of motive; the number of our voluntary actions will receive perpetual accession, while those which are automatic will proportionately decrease. . . . It follows, therefore, that the government which attempts to impede the universal dissimination of science or to restrain the unlimited career of intellect, may be classed among the most inveterate enemies of the human species. . . . Is it not of all absurdities the most incongruous, that government should dictate perpetual silence and torpor to those who excel in intellect? On the other hand, can it exercise a more atrocious despotism than to declare those who are inferior in intelligence, from that intellectual improvement which is the characteristic of our species?

To invest the public magistrate with the power of restricting public opinion, would be to trust the progress of Information to the mercy and pleasure of a Government. More formidable dangers are justly to be apprehended from arming the constituted organs of Authority with a power to arrest the career of Human Intellect, than from all the evil attributes of Licentiousness. . . .

The formation of general opinion upon correct and salutary principles, requires the unbiased exercise of individual intellect; neither prejudice, authority, or terror, should be suffered to impede the librety of discussion; no undue influence should tyrannize over mind; every man should be left to the independent exercise of his reflections; all should be permitted to communicate their ideas with the energy and ingenousness of truth. . . . There is no species of tyranny more pernicious in its consequences than that which is exerted to impede the progress of intellect. . . . Slavery will inevitably produce mental debility and degradation. Unless the mind is conscious of liberty to reflect and expatiate, it will be wholly incapable of sublime and energetic exertion.

Unless individuals are permitted to reflect and communicate their sentiments upon every topic, it is impossible that they should progress in knowledge. . . . Without establishing the liberty of inquiry, and the right of disseminating our opinions, it must always be our position to remain in a state of barbarism, wretchedness, and degradation. . . . It is impossible that the imagination should conceive a more horrible and pernicious tyranny than that which should restrain Intercourse of Thought. . . .

Prejudice may boast of her fascination, and tyranny may exult in his claims; Superstition may administer the slumbering opiate, and Delusion may continue to practice her magical artifices: the Rays of Intellectual Light will still proceed to brighten and increase, and the days of Liberty and Science succeed to the gloomy night of Ignorance and Despotism.

* * *

JEREMY BENTHAM: From "On Liberty of the Press and Public," (1821).

Will you, Sir, or will you not, concur in putting matters on such a footing, in respect to the liberty of the press, and the liberty of public discussion, that, at the hands of persons exercising the powers of government, a man shall have no more fear from speaking and writing against them, than from speaking and writing for them? If his answer be yes, the government he declares in favor of, is an undespotic one; if his answer be no, the government he declares in favor of, is a despotic one.

* * *

THOMAS COOPER: From "Liberty of the Press," (1830).

I think there is no question within the whole range of human inquiry of equal importance to the present one. It is, whether the people should doom themselves to voluntary ignorance, to imperfect knowledge, and place themselves, bound and blind-fold, under the guidance of men who assume to govern them. . . . A strong suspicion prevails that the human intellect has been kept in fetters, by men who have boldly assumed superior wisdom, that their dictates might pass without inquiry —men who professedly deal in concealment, darkness, and mystery, and who fatten upon human ignorance. . . . The law, unfortunately, has always been retained on the side of power; laws have uniformly been enacted for the protection and perpetuation of power. . . . Every politician, every member of the clerical profession, ought to incur the reasonable suspicion of being an interested supporter of false doctrines, who becomes angry at opposition, and endeavors to cast an odium on free inquiry. Fraud and falsehood only dread examination. Truth invites it. . . . Speculative opinions are best left to fight out their own battles by means of a free press. They are never dangerous to the community, but when the magistrate takes a side.

They take it for granted, that a disposition to speak the truth fearlessly and at all hazards, is a sure sign that the person in question is unworthy of all belief! And by the courtesy of the country, in many states, this is called law. . . . Indeed, no opinion or doctrine, of whatever nature it be, or whatever be its tendency, ought to be suppressed. . . . A sound and healthy state of public feeling depends everywhere upon the healthy state of public information; and this can have no other basis but the freedom of public discussion. . . . It is better for the public to take the risk of the evils, and for individuals to suffer the inconvenience resulting from a press without other restraints . . . than . . . to incur the danger resulting from any uncertainty in the tenure of liberty, which, as it declares, is "essential to the security of its freedom."

(To Be Continued)

CANADA'S FASCISTS AT WORK

The Catholic ridden province of Quebec, Canada, is proving itself in the similar role that its bretheren Catholics—from the reigning Charlatan at Vatican City down to his lowest follower—have assumed everywhere else: an open alley to every reactionary clique. In the Spanish struggle, the Church mulcers are openly allied with the Franco-March-Mussolini-Hitler fascist mercenaries. In the Sino-Japanese war—ditto. And so on all along the line in every other part of the world.

Under such a factual state of affairs how can it surprise anyone when the Catholic controlled Premier Duplessis simply orders the padlocking of the French-Canadian *Clarté*, the raiding of the editor's rooms as well as the closing of the *Clarion* bureau, a labor paper?

And whilst one is pointing at the misdoings of Catholics and Fascists can one help in not pointing at the misdoings of a supposedly non-fascist liberal administration against this Journal and its editor right here in our own land of the (?) "free and the brave"? . . .

Either the State will be destroyed and a new life will begin in thousands of centers, on the principle of an energetic initiative of the individual, of groups, and of free agreement; or else the State must crush the individual and local life, it must become the master of all the domains of human activity, must bring with it its ways and internal struggles for the possession of power, its surface-revolutionists—which only change one tyrant for another, and inevitably, at the end of this evolution,—death!

—PETER KROPOTKIN.

PEOPLE'S CONSCIENCE VERSUS AUTHORITY

The spectacle that is being enacted by the supposedly authorized representatives of 130 million people against one sole individual and the paper that he edits could only have received its fully merited ridicule at the pen-wielding of a Molliere. Like rats in the darkness of the night, the law-badge-holders have perpetrated their jailing of Marcus Graham and the robbing of the office of MAN! on October 6, 1937. And like rats they continue to act ever since, just as they have done against Graham since the last eighteen years of his public activities in behalf of freedom. So it has always been down through the ages, as the series of excerpts, which begin to appear on page two in this issue, fully attest to.

Hiding themselves behind secretive chambers the gentry calling itself authority enacts its bacchanalia just as rats would devour a pile of found food in the middle of the night. Outside stand representatives of the press and also friends of freedom of thought, both demanding to be present and listen to the "crimes" that the accused Marcus Graham and the paper he edits will be charged with. But the authoritative-rats are afraid of daylight.

Would you like to know the reason why? Well, here it is:

The place is a closed office room of the Immigration bureau. The date November 22-23, 1937. A new badge-rat of the law, Mr. Del Guercia, assumes the role of prosecutor-judge. Smiling sarcastically, he assures defence attorney A. L. Wirin, of his impartiality. But the fact of his having acted in a similar capacity against Graham in 1930 and having made a futile recommendation to deport the latter to Mexico gives the full lie to Mr. Del Guercia. But rats do not know or pretend to know the meaning of the word lie.

The defense tried in vain to challenge the legality of the proceedings. Mr. Del Guercia held the arm of the stenographer whenever he considered that an objection or statement of the attorneys might place into the record any exposure of the dirty work that his brother-rats have perpetrated. *"This is our show!"* exclaimed the badge-rat, off the record. And indeed so it was.

Defence attorneys called the thug-badge-rats who were responsible for the unlawful arrest and raid, but Mr. Del Guercia shamelessly directed them not to answer any questions until the suit against them will first be disposed of.

On the first day of the two-day hearing session Mr. Del Guercia slipped the information of his having already applied to the federal courts to aid him in compelling Graham to testify against himself. Thus, before the two day hearings were even completed, every lawful wheel of injustice was at work against Graham. On November 24, federal Judge Leon R. Yankwich readily granted the requested order directing Graham to appear on December 7 before the Immigration officials and to testify against himself.

The defence attorney asked the Judge not to issue such an order since they are challenging the legality of the entire proceedings. The Judge refused to rule on that suggestion, promising a (?) "new deal" to Graham, when he finally appears before him.

On the morning of Dec. 7, defence attorneys applied to Judge Yankwich that he should order the lawless officials to testify at the scheduled afternoon hearing. The Judge declined to issue such an order as long as Graham refuses to answer questions. What a travesty upon justice! Graham is ordered to testify against himself, whilst law upholders are sustained by a Judge not to testify and thereby contravene every move that would reveal the latters' utter disregard for every prescribed constitutional right.

Judge Yankwich is reputed as a "liberal." He has supported Roosevelt as well as Sinclair in the last election. If his first two acts in the case are a criterion of his *liberalism*, than the kind of a promised "new deal" he will most likely render in this case can easily be guessed at.

At the afternoon hearing on December 7, Graham again declined to answer, even though a Judge had ordered him to do so. The rat-fraternity of the immigration department again got busy at once. Without even informing the defence attorneys they applied and were granted a request to cite Graham for Contempt of Court on December 20.

* * *

It is not at all out of place to raise right here the question: *Whom have the authorities been representing in the carrying out of all the above enumerated despicable acts?* Was this the will of the people, the thinking people of the nation?

By all that is true and noble, decent and honorable —NO!

The thinking people of America realized immediately that the reviving of an eighteen year old order of deportation against Graham was in itself an unheard of act of injustice in the annals of American Jurisprudence. Even warrants for the arrest of murderers become void in some states in the union—and what other crime—*but that of thinking has been charged against Graham?!* Furthermore, the attack against Graham is but an excuse in the government's attempt to silence the voice of MAN!—thereby raising the whole issue of the Freedom of the Press—*as the central issue in this fight.*

And the answer of the thinking people of America to the government's attack upon the Freedom of the Press and Freedom of Thought can best be adjudged by giving the full list of those outstanding men and women in American art, education and literature who have already joined as members of the Marcus Graham Freedom of the Press Committee. These are, as follows:

Newton Arvin, Roger Baldwin, Ernest Sutherland Bates, Vicki Baum, Konrad Bercovici, Alice Stone Blackwell, Lewis Browne, Howard Brubaker, Steven T. Byington, Witter Bynner, John Chamberlain, Countee Cullen, George S. Counts, John Dewey, Robert W. Dunn, Max Eastman, Vardis Fisher, Kate Crane-Gartz, George W. Hartman, Hippolyte Havel, Arthur Garfield Hays, John Haynes Holmes, Freda Kirchwey, Robert Morse Lovett, Alexander Meikeljohn, Edna St. Vincent Millay, Walter Pach, Kirby Page, Dorothy Parker, John Dos Passos, James Rorty, Charles Edward Russell, Frank Scully, George Seldes, George Soule, Ruth Suckow, Jim Tully, Donald Ogden Stewart, Louis Untermeyer, Harry F. Ward, George P. West, James Waterman Wise, and Art Young.

That the authority-bagde holders do not represent, as they never did in the history of mankind, the true conscience of a thinking people is fully borne out now once again.

And, as in the past, every thinking man and woman of America is called upon to raise their voices of protest as loud and as effective, so that all the pigmy-tin-rat-badge holders of the land should realize at once that *Freedom of Thought and Freedom of the Press shall and will prevail! The eighteen-year-old hounding and persecution of Marcus Graham must stop once and for all time. MAN!, as a representative organ of freedom, should never again be molested.*

In achieving these two objectives the thinking people of America will thereby take their place in the history of mankind's struggle for the liberation of the mind along with those great minds of the past. They will thus add proof that *present-day thinking America stands ready to challenge and resist at all times any attack upon Freedom of Thought and Freedom of the Press at the hands of authority!*

MAN!

SHALL THESE MEN AND WOMEN BE EXILED?

VINCENT FERRERO

In an appeal issued here today the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born requests that letters and telegrams be sent to James L. Houghteling, Commissioner of Immigration, Washington, D. C., protesting the deportation of Vincent Ferrero who has been ordered to surrender at Ellis Island, November 26, and be shipped to Fascist Italy the following morning on the S.S. "Vulcania."

In a letter to Ferrero's attorney, Isaac Shorr, Commissioner Houghteling says, in part: "While it has been suggested that deportation to Italy might result in his persecution after arrival, it can be pointed out that this alien has not been in Italy for 31 years, has therefore taken no part in current political affairs and has no enemies in the country of his birth. Therefore I can see no objection to his deportation to Italy . . ."

Writing to Commissioner Houghteling, Dwight C. Morgan, secretary of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, says: "A great deal of evidence has been accumulated and forwarded to the Department to establish beyond any doubt that Ferrero faces severe persecution if deported to Italy. If the highest traditions of American democracy and the reputation of this country as a haven beyond the reach of foreign tyrants are to be maintained, we believe that the only course open to you in this case is to grant Vincent Ferrero right of asylum in the United States as a political refugee."

Officials of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born urged that protests be sent to Washington at once since Ferrero, an active anti-Fascist, faces not only persecution in Italy but even death. He is being defended by the Ferrero-Sallitto Defense Conference.

A flood of protests from prominent individuals, trade-unions and organizations have been sent to Commissioner of Immigration Houghteling. Among those protesting Ferrero's deportation are: Prof. John Dewey, Columbia University; Ellen B. Talbot, Mount Holyoke College; Paul M. Reid, American League Against War and Fascism; Rose Schneiderman, New York Women's Trade Union League; Roy Burt, Socialist Party of the U. S. A. Trade unions protesting include: I.L.G.W.U., Union 16, Fort Wayne; Pocketbook Workers' Union, Local 1; Twin Cities and Baltimore Joint Boards I.L.G.W.U.; Joint Council Knitgood Workers' Union, Brooklyn; I.L.G.W.U., Local 48; Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America; Bakery & Confectionery Workers Union, Local 507; I.L.G.W.U., Local 38. Organizations protesting include: Houston Branch American League Against War and Fascism; Citizens Unemployed Relief League, Buffalo; Oakland Branch, Industrial Workers of the World; New Jersey Civil Liberties Union; Workmen's Circle, Branch 273; Modern Educational Association.

As we go to Press, news reaches us that Vincent Ferrero may be saved from death as a result of a statement, made to the American Committee for protection of Foreign Born, by Rep. Emanuel Celler, of Brooklyn, that he is preparing to introduce a private bill in the present session of Congress in Ferrero's behalf. Congressman Celler's Bill is expected to stay Ferrero's deportation indefinitely pending its passage and, if passed, will save him from deportation.

* * *

DOMENICK SALLITTO

The thousands of protests that were directed to the Labor Department from every part of the country against the thretened deportation of Domenick Sallitto has resulted in the Department's granting a reopening of the case in order to have his attorney introduce new evidence.

* * *

MARIA PESCE

With her husband a member of the Garibaldi Battallion defending the Spanish Loyalist government, Mrs. Maria Pesce is facing deportation to Italy on the grounds she is in the United States illegally, the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which has undertaken to defend her, stated here today. Mrs. Pesce, a member of Local 89 of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union, has a 10-year-old child, Jennie, who would be orphaned if her mother were deported.

Mrs. Pesce, 35 years old, a former stewardess, remained in this country in 1926 after the ship on which she worked had sailed, and married Giuio Pesce in December, 1926. Last month she was ordered to appear at Ellis Island for a hearing by immigration authorities and officials of Local 89 of the I. L. G. W. U. appealed to the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born in her behalf. The American Committee retained Ira Gollobin, a New York attorney, to represent Mrs. Pesce. She was released in her attorney's custody after her hearing.

Officials of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born stated that, if Mrs. Pesce is deported, her child, an American-born citizen, would have to be placed in an orphanage and supported at public expense for a number of years, and that Mrs. Pesce would have to give up her job and home and return to Italy where she has neither relatives nor the prospect of work.

* * *

CARL OHM

Carl Ohm, 30 year old anti-Nazi, has been denied permission by the Labor Department to remain in the United States and has been ordered to leave the country by January 1, 1938, or be deported to Germany, where he faces death, according to a communication received here by the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born.

Ohm entered the United States legally in 1929. Arrested in 1932 during a demonstration protesting the persecution of Negroes in New York, Ohm was ordered deported on the charge of membership in the Young Communist League. In 1936 the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals hold that his case be reheard in the Labor Department, which again has ordered his deportation.

Officials of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born stated today that Ohm, whose Jewish wife is a naturalized American citizen, faces persecution if returned to Nazi Germany and that every effort will be made to win asylum for him in this country.

* * *

HANS GOEPEL

"I would rather I died here than be tortured to death by Hitler's Gestapo," Hans Goepel, 26 year-old anti-Nazi refugee facing immediate deportation to Nazi Germany, said last week after unsuccessfully attempting suicide. Goepel is in the Ellis Island Marine Hospital, recovering from a self-inflicted wound.

Goepel was born in Hanover and joined an anti-Nazi youth organization in 1928. In 1930 he became a member of the Socialist Party and continued his anti-Nazi work in the German navy, which he had entered in 1931, even after the establishment of the Nazi dictatorship. However, after it was disclosed his mother is Jewish and some of his companions were arrested in 1935, Goepel's position became extremely dangerous. He escaped to the United States as a stowaway and was arrested April 4, 1937.

The American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born, which is conducting Goepel's defense, stated that every effort will be made to prevent his return to Germany and to secure permission for him to remain in the United States as a political refugee.

(Press Service, The American Committee for the Protection of Foreign Born, Room 1409, 100 Fifth Avenue, New York City.)

Throughout the whole history of our civilization, two traditions, two opposed tendencies, have been in conflict: the Roman traditions and the popular tradition; the imperial tradition and the federalist tradition; the authoritarian one and the libertarian one. —PETER KROPOTKIN.

Those Wishing to Aid

Those who are desireous in aiding morally and materially in the work of combating the vicious attempts to destroy MAN! and deport its editor should forward all correspondence, monies, as well as copies of the protests they send to Washington, on the following addresses:

MARCUS GRAHAM FREEDOM OF THE PRESS COMMITTEE
THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
129 West Second Street,
Los Angeles, California.

THE OLD AND THE NEW SPAIN

Aided secretively and openly by British Imperialism, the tool of Bloody Fascism in Spain—General Franco—is, with the direct and open aid of Italian Fascism and German Nazism, marching on to a very questionable "victory." A victory made posible by the coalition Liberal-Socialist-Communist regime of Negrin. The papal charlatan of Vatican City has but recently given his endorsement to the pronouncement-manifesto of two of his prelates—who attempted to paint a glowful picture of Franco and his Fascist allies. No better answer can be given than is embodied in the three documents presented herewith: two depicting Fascism at Work and the third: The Brave Struggling Liberated Masses at Work.

SPAIN—1933

When, in the summer of 1933, we traveled from Medina Sidonia, in the heart of Andalusia, towards Casas Viejas, a village in the South which became notorious because of the murder of innocent agricultural workers, we saw the following inscriptions along the way: Abajo el Clero! Abajo el estado! Abajo la propriedad! Viva el comunismo libertario! (Down with clericalism, State and property; long live libertarian communism.)

Now, all over Spain, in the winter of 1933, there had been protestations and rebellions against the oppressions of the State, the agrarian landlords and the capitalists. Alas, these uprisings were suppressed by the priests' and landlords' enslaved mercenaries and resulted in the most bloody and atrocious slaughter of innocent victims.

The rebellion had not only broken out in the industrial center of Barcelona and in the cities of Valencia, Malaga and Cadiz, but also among the poor Andalusian peasants who joined the uprising against the centuries old oppression to free themselves from feudal slavery.

Indeed, they were in revolt against feudalism! In Spain, and particularly in Andalusia, feudalism has not been done away with. As an illustration let us take Casas Viejas, a village of about 1200 inhabitants; Duke Medinaceli is the owner of 17,000 hectares (420,000 acres) of land in the village. One year his land had not been cultivated. The peasants depending upon the cultivation of this large private property for their livelihood were left without work and were consequently starving. Duke Medinaceli alone with the support of the militia and clergy, could decide upon the welfare of these 1200 people, people who had no alternative, but to submit to the Duke's whims, and starve, or to rebel.

To make a long story short, in January of 1933 when the storm of rebellion broke loose over Spain, it carried along the Andalusian peasants, including the land workers of Casas Viejas.

The rebels took possesion of the community arms and public documents; the women invaded every store. Still, there was no violence nor bloodshed. The communal authorities were unable to resist the rebellion and appealed to the capital for help. Early the next morning civil guards arrived from Madrid and started to murder the poor peasants in the streets of Casas Viejas.

The guardias of Asalto came with arms and hand grenades. Duke Medinaceli's slaves, in front of their wives and children, were slaughtered in a terrifying bloodbath. The house of an old Anarchist comrade named Liesdedos, in which others had taken refuge from the bloody terror, was put on fire and all occupants were incinerated.

This is only one of many episodes; it is one of the bloody dramas in which the Spanish workers fought desperately to gain their freedom.

A.V.K.

* * *

ASTURIA—1935

Under the signature of Ignotus, *Tierra y Libertad* of Barcelona has published a series of truthful and authentic documents which throw a tragical light upon the bloody Asturian repression.

The "October Repression" is the title of the work which contains testimonies of known victims; the unknown ones must still be more numerous. But the published testimonies are fully sufficient; they show the rabidness in tortures and slaughters, and furnish some thought material for those who believe in evolution and ideal, as well as in moral progress.

Wild repression occures everywhere and in any epoch. Still without intending to pass judgment upon Spain we cannot help thinking that her arenas are very much like the ancient Roman circuses. Although gladiaotrs have been replaced by bulls, the fact remains that the amusement is still based upon cruelty and true slaughterhouse scenes. The idealistic and hospitable Spain is entirely another Spain. The Revolution, we must admit, was very cruel in certain localities; but its actions, sometimes more or less revengeful and personal, could not justify such a disproportionate repression. Like all defeated revolutions, the Asturian one had to be transformed into a blood-bath. And to give an idea of the "republican" terror during which policemen, soldiers, priests and "gangsters" became man-hunters, torturers, and executioners, we shall mention some of the deeds reported by the victims themselves or by other witnesses.

The tortures, or what is called in America the third degree, were, often applied to prisoners to make them sign declarations of guilt in the participation of rebellious acts.

The prisoners of Mieres write:

"Young and robust people have their arms, ribs and teeth broken; their chests and testes crushed."

Juan-Sanchez Moro describes his personal tortures as follows:

"They tied my hands behind my back and lifted me by means of a pulley. My whole body hung by my tied hands. When I reached a certain height, they stabilized me, and policemen with sticks and guns started to beat me. My martyrdom lasted two hours."

From Rodriguez Garcia: "When Doval (civil guard commander who organized the Asturian repression with Lepez Ochoa) saw that instead of signing the 'declaration of guilt' I started to read it, he twice struck me in the face with his fist. The policemen began beating me with sticks. Not satisfied, one of them brought an iron bar of the thickness of a broom handle and struck me with it just over the eyes. They then put me in a straight-jacket and continued the beating. I sank down. Two of the troturers lifted me up and again asked me to sign the document. When I refused, they gave me two minutes to reflect before killing me. Upon my negative answer they dragged me into the yard, placed me against a wall and said, 'If you don't sign we will shoot you!' 'Shoot!' said I. 'Such as you are not killed by bullets. You would not suffer!' And then he knocked me unconscious with his gun. I was dragged inside, stripped and pricked. I regained consciousness only to be beaten again. Then they twisted my testes and again I became unconscious."

Antonio Vasquez Hevia, 63 year old was beaten with an iron gauntlet; all his teeth were broken and his moustache was plucked off.

Antonio, 17 year old, of Felguera, was hung by his hands tied behind his back and splinters were driven under his finger and toe nails. Then he was beaten with a gun and iron bar while so suspended. A week later he was discharged as innocent with orders to keep his mouth shut.

José Manuel Fernandez of Felguera was dragged on the floor by his hair, then trampled upon by policemen until blood ran from his nose and mouth.

While these tortures were taking place the Oviedo monks of the convent "Adoratrices," who occupied the floor above the torture chamber, were playing the piano to choke the screams of the victims.

Florentino Huerta had his feet crushed and an arm broken with an iron bar. The same person reports how people were disfigured. A chauffeur of the civil guard beat prisoners in the face with an automobile crank. Guillero Hevia Corte was killed that way.

(Here, we must say that some cases are so repulsive that we could not possibly translate them.)

The socialist minister, Fernando de las Rias, made an investigation and reported that the sexual organs and feet of one of the victims had been roasted.

Many suicide cases of people who went through tortures are reported. Benjamin Soriero incarcerated in Oviedo. Fernando Conrado Garcia and many others, the list of whom is too long to enumerate. Some of the victims lost their minds and killed themselves. Among the latter let us mention: Aquilino Lopez Fombona, 44 years old, while being treated for insanity in the Oviedo hospital, threw himself through the window. Julio Castagnos killed himself with a knife; Ramon Raigala of Gijon crushed his head against a water spigot . . . there are many more of these cases.

Some people were tortured, mutilated and then murdered. Ramon Arias of Trubia, 18 years old, died in a cell after being tortured. Jose Miranda, Honario Fernandez and David Passado were tortured several times; Passado had all his teeth knocked out as well as one eye. The bodies of the three were found in the mountains completely mutilated.

The ex-socialist Minister Fernando de las Rias, mentioned above, relates the case of a boy of 20 interviewed by him, who, accused of having participated in an execution during the rebellion, was placed before the victim's family and then given to them. The barbarian scene that followed can hardly be described. Enough to say that the boy was bleeding from mouth, eyes and nose; when unconscious, he was revived with cold water to go through the same tortures.

Such were the tortures of Firmin Lopez of Turon; Fernando Gonzalez, city councilman. was finally buried alive.

The most savage slaughter, because the most numerous, took place in Carbayin. Here, twenty-five prisoners (some among them had not participated in the rebellion and were even hostile to it) were taken from jail at night and slaughtered with bayonets and guns by mad soldiers.

Fernando Garcia and José Valdes who were prisoners in Gijon wrote:

"On the 31st of October proceeding at the disinterment of the Carbayin victims, we found them tied together with ropes . . . as to details, one had had his nose cut off and his body was full of wounds; another had his eyes out and his tongue had been cut off."

Felix Gordon Ordas, a deputy, addressed a requisitory document to S. E. Alcava Zamora, then president of the Republic. From his document we take the following: "In Villafria a group of twenty regular soldiers broke in the door of a house and entered it. No one had resisted. No one in the house had attacked them. As soon as the door went down the soldiers started to fire upon the occupants. They killed thirteen persons out of eighteen. The survivors had been able to escape by jumping through windows or by hiding. I repeat that not one single person, either victim or survivor, had fired or made the least hostile move."

We ask ourselves where Dante would have placed all these slaughtering masters. And above all what the new Cortes are doing, what they are waiting for to get rid of these scoundrels who have more crimes upon their conscience than blood upon their hands. Revenge? No! Purification. . . . But we doubt purification on the part of the elected even though some of them were still in dungeons yesterday.

Our doubt is based upon the fact that the army and police are almost maintained in the very same frame. An astounding fact is that the amnesty has not been extended to all military men who joined the rebellion! As an illustration of the working of the amnesty: On February 22nd, Perrez Sarras, commandant, sentenced to death for participation in the military rebellion of October, 1934, saw his penalty changed into life imprisonment, and then set free. But the following day the Madrid Gazetta reported a decree by which the death penalty against three soldiers for the same crime, was changed into 30 years imprisonment.

Surely those three soldiers owe their lives to some socialist officers, but nevertheless, thirty years in a penitentiary is not a reward!

On March 30th, we could read:

"Jumenez de Pedreza, lieutenant-colonel of artillery and head of the Oviedo arm-manufacturing which was taken by the rebels in October, 1934, and who was sentenced to 30 years in prison, was granted amnesty. But he was rearrested and reincarcerated for the reason that his penalty was PURELY OF MILITARY ORDER! Here too, it was his reward to have given them arms to defend themselves!

Doval, commandant of the civil guard, who ordered the hunt, tortures, and summary executions, was simply suspended. It means that Doval was sent into retirement with a pension for the rest of his life; or until to-morrow when a new government will return him to service with a higher command and higher pay!

The acquittal of some of these military murderers was sometimes so rude and bold that the government had to interject appeals against certain judgments of those too rendering military officers. It is so that the government placed on trial judges and prosecutors who nearly had congratulated Ivanov,* Foreign Legion lieutenant who coldly assassinated Louis de Serval, a journalist working at the time for a Madrid newspaper. But, mind you, the appeal against judges and prosecutors was not exactly for the acquittal but only for PREVARICATION!

G. Styr-Nhair

*We have since learned the execution of Ivanov.

* * *

THE NEW SPAIN

I landed in Barcelona as the appointed delegate of the Building Trade Technicians' Syndicate, affiliated with the C.N.T., (French Confederation of Labor), to make a thorough investigation of the conditions now prevailing in the building trades in Spain.

Here, I visited the office of the "Fomento de Obras y Construcciones," the most important construction corporation. This corporation had a capital of 75 millions pesetas; it undertook all kinds of public works; such as high-ways, railroads, public buildings, dwellings, and so forth.

After the quick Fascist defeat in Barcelona, the administration of this corporation thought it wise to make their escape; they feared the idea of showing their books to the workers, members of the C.N.T.

Thus, the C.N.T. and the U.G.T. took charge of the organization. A mutual Committee composed of members of both labor bodies, proportioned in accordance with their respective strength in membership, was appointed to run the business. They were instructed to make a thorough inventory of materials, goods and machinery; to carefuly check the technical and administrative departments; to suppress all unnecesary salaries; and to level wages and introduce necessary reforms as well as changes in personnel.

It was understood that all resolutions adopted by this Committee would be the result of a majority vote. In case of a dead-lock, the general workers' Assembly would be called upon for a final ruling, and no decision of the Committee was to contradict any action of the C.N.T. or U.G.T.

After the formation of the Committee, the entire personnel, as a friendly gesture, voluntarily joined the C.N.T.

Here, in view of the importance of the undertaking, the Control Committee requested the auxiliary technical assistance of the following Syndicates: Wood Workers, Metal Workers, Commerce and Liberal Professions. (The latter groups being technicians.)

I was fraternally received by the Committee in Charge and given all possible information.

(*Continued on Page Five*)

IDEAS OF ANARCHISM

"TOO MUCH GOVERNMENT"

Charles Erskine Scott Wood

(Our friend, Comrade Charles Erskine Scott Wood, has given us permission to reprint the excerpts given on this page from his book "Too Much Government" — Editor.)

State and Property

What I say is that the machine to make this law and enslave a people—the state—is built upon property. Property is power. "Government" is its expression. Government rests upon force, always. Force is opposed to freedom, always. Property has always concentrated in a privileged few. First, by forcible taking; second, by forcible holding; third, by laws created by the privileged few to secure their privileges. Back of every law is force. Laws are "enforced." The word speaks for itself. The forcible taking and holding of property and the power of property still continue. Instead of count against count or duke against duke, it is now nation against nation—a distinction without a difference. As a duke could not make war without his followers who believed that his privileges and power came from God, so nations cannot now make war without citizens willing to die for the state at the call of the state—that is, the Master Class. The state, or government, is only a name for the powerful corporation of which the privileged, propertied ones are the stockholders and directors.

* * *

War and Laws

No people ever made the laws. Even the Demos of that little, compact, one-town group—Athens—never made the laws. The laws were made by a governing few, or by one. The Demos, then as now, simply registered the governing will of the real masters. Where today are the people making the laws? France? England? Russia? Italy? The United States? What Poeple was it maneuvered and juggled the world into the late holy conflagaration where twenty million of the People died, and countless millions are wrecked, mind, body and purse? Are the Peoples juggling for the coming war that is on the horizon? When the next crop of young warriors rushes out to die for Trade, Empire and Bonds, how much will they have to do with making the war? What will be their share of the loot? Wars and laws are always made by a governing few, and always made for profit. Take the profit out of war and there will be no war. Throttle your commercial lords, your international investment lords, your munition lords, your battleship lords, your protective tariff lords, and the like; throttle them to death, and there will be no war.

* * *

Government and Liberty

It is increase of dependents who must use, of tenants who must pay tribute. With the increase of valuable area, especially subject areas (empire), with the coming in of new natural monopolies (oil and water power), or new social monopolies (railways, telegraph and telephone), the feudal lords have more and more need of more and more government to protect their existing privileges and to give them more.

Government is their tool, and they must be the government or all fails. They need armies, navies, police—all the fearful force of government to protect their privileges and to conquer more. They need legislatures to make the laws they wish, and courts to interpret favorably. Not that legislators or judges are consciously corrupt. Custom, ignorance, and prejudice answer the same purpose just as well and are more implacable than corruption. Corruption has its price both ways. Ignorance and prejudice stick fast.

For example, there is "Law and Order," so precious to judges and legislators—which only means what it meant under kings—"*My* law, *My* order. I will not get off your backs and I will destroy whoever complains." Then there is the shibboleth dear to courts and legislatures—"Vested Rights." As if a wrong having no birth or nurture in essential right and justice could ever become a "*right*" by being "*vested*," that is, forcibly held. Of all the stupid solemnities of courts I think the stupidest is, "Liberty cannot be permitted to pass into License." If any power can say what *is* Liberty and what *is* License, then there is no Liberty.

Each step by "Government" which invades the full freedom of the peaceable individual in his own affairs is a step toward tyranny which, if not instantly resented and resisted, will end in a nation of docile slaves submissive to every despotism.

Constant rebellion is the only safety, and a true equality, economic and political, is the only goal. Disobedience to invasive laws is the only virtue.

"Government" is the corporate name for the dominant few who own the wealth of the planet and of society, and so own and exploit the bodies and souls of the people, in war—and in peace; which is only another kind of war.

* * *

Dictatorship

The trouble is that no cause justifies forcible suppression of the thought of any man; and suppression by force, being inherently an evil, is always an evil—as much an evil in a good cause as in a bad one. The better the cause the less should be the need of suppression. As much an evil by the Soviets as by the Tsar. As much an evil by the State of California as by the Soviets. As much an evil by the caterpillars of the Cafe-dome (at Washington) as by Mussolini. A thing cannot shift from evil to good and from good to evil. . . . The trouble is, governments and dictatorships—and every government is a dictatorship—do not want intellectual discussion; for out of discussion is born truth, and the truth shall set men free. They do not want men free. No ruling order wants men free. The suppression of free speech is born of fear. The tyrant does not trust the truth; he fears.

The suppression of free speech by the police of the Soviets, and the suppression of free speech by the police in the United States, is all one. It is denial of free speech to peaceable men, and nothing ever justifies that.

* * *

Workers and Nature

Serfs and peasants are the same in every age and every land. He is so busy trying to raise our food for us, to say nothing of his mortgage, he is so deep in the soil in a desperate struggle with it from dawn to dark, that you might as well believe that the feudal serf of the iron collar had time to think as to expect the wrestlers with the earth of our own day to have time to read and to discuss at home and to meet together and ask, Why is life so hard, and what is wrong with it all? Why to some who toil not neither do they spin, such rich super-abundance; and to him who slaves to the grave's edge, nothing but toil and trouble—debt? Why?

There are the industrial workers. These do not even have the compensation of seeing orchards blossom, or the green wheat wave, nor hear the orioles in the cotton-woods, the meadow-larks on the fence posts, or the wrens in the thickets.

* * *

Revolution

The feudal system depended, and depends, on a slave psychology. Both rulers and ruled accepted and now accept that God had and has appointed a chosen few as an upper or ruling class privileged to own the earth and to govern the inhabitants; that is, to exploit the people by laws creating special privileges. If in any way God neglects his selected favorites, they themselves repair His neglect, and see to it that the righteousness of God's will is not challenged. To effect a radical change, it seems you must have a revolution and succeed in it. It is a stupid way—force against force, bloodshed for bloodshed—but the rulers insist on it. They say very emphatically, "We will not dismount. You must throw us off." The rulers say by police, clubs, jail, and electric chair exactly what the same class said by dungeon, ax, and scaffold, and by slaughter of the mob. They say "To have any change in 'Organized Society' or 'Law and Order' you must be stronger than we are." "It is our heads against yours." Bloody revolution—they insist on it. They declare that the demand for free speech and free press is nothing but wicked agitation against them and God. Charles the First of England and Louis the Sixteenth of France talked that way.

Our rulers say, and their tame parrots say, "Anyone who finds fault with this greatest republic on earth and most perfect democracy in the cosmos is a crank, and cranks do not deserve anything free but a lodging in jail or a seat in the electric chair."

* * *

Freedom

I do not believe disorder or disaster ever came from Freedom; always from suppression. I believe Freedom, not force, is the only maker of abiding order. Here comes the essential qualification: when force enters as an invasion of the peaceable soul, even in the cause of Freedom, Freedom, the Creator and Preserver, vanishes as the glory of the rainbow which aureoles the hills vanishes, even while we look; and again the gray mist shrouds the scene.

Force negatives every hope that Freedom holds out. Again returning to the metaphor of the rainbow—Freedom spans heaven with one earthly end resting on the Hill of Persuasion, toward Truth, and the other on the Hill of Knowledge of Truth; and the glory of the heavenly arc is Love, which is Truth.

(*Concluded from Page Four*)

The corporation used to employ 600 workers of which 300 were then fighting Fascism. The foreman had been replaced by a responsible comrade selected by the workers themselves. Besides this comrade who distributes the work, there is a manual technician who is in charge of the technical side of the work.

Now, production has considerably increased since the new organization started: the workers feel that they are no longer fatening a gang of parasites.

The committee audited the books, (which were placed at my disposal for investigation), and here is what they found:

In 1935 the Superintendent of the Corporation received a salary of 491,000 pesetas, and other officials from 110,000 to 36,000 pesetas, while the average worker's wages were 5,000 pesetas a year. To this, we must add a slush fund of about 2,000,000 pesetas for the corruption of various politicians. (To the American grafters, two million pesetas would only be a drop in the bucket!—Translator.)

The new organization is free from all suckers and can now fulfill its true aim—to produce so as to permit the producers to live.

The comrades' enthusiasm and simplicity are strengthening; not for one minute do they doubt the final success. Nevertheless, their attitude must be supplemented by arms and munitions.

Our comrades asked me a direct question: "Are the French workers going to let the Spanish Libertarian Revolution be assassinated?" French comrades, I address the same question to you!

Thus, this is an important enterprise functioning for the best technological results. Everyone knows that it is much more difficult to run an undertaking involving the construction of public buildings, high-ways, etc., than a more important factory where everything is centralized.

Yes, indeed, Anarchists, the so-called destructors and undisciplined fellows, are at work constructing a new society, never recoiling before any responsibility in the organization, and this, after having risked their lives in the direct action against Fascism.

Andre Mollot

(*Translation of the three documents by Jules Scarceriaux.*)

Liberty of Conscience and Speech For Anarchists

(From Theodore Schroeder's "Free Press Anthology.")

I treat with scorn the puny and pitiful assertion that grievances are not to be complained of, that our redress is not to be agitated; for in such cases, remonstrance cannot be too strong, agitation cannot be too violent, to show to the world with what injustice our faith claims are met and under what tyranny the people suffer.

—DANIEL O'CONNELL.

* * *

A proposition to forbid and punish the teaching or the propagation of Anarchism, i. e., the doctrine or belief that all established government is wrongful and pernicious and should be destroyed, is inconsistent with the freedom of speech and press, unless carefully confined to cases of solicitation of crime. . . . As the freedom of religion would have no meaning without the liberty of attacking all religion, so the freedom of political discussion is merely a phrase if it must stop short of questioning the fundamental ideas of politics, law, and government.

—PROF. ERNST FREUND in "Police Power," page 475.

* * *

Repression of free speech, unequal laws, tremendous and vague powers lodged in the hands of the authorities, have been the recognized means of producing Anarchists in foreign countries, and undoubtedly will be here. . . .

—New York *Evening Post*, December 5, 1903.

* * *

Forbid by law the holding of certain beliefs and you will surely popularize those beliefs. The long struggle for intellectual liberty, from the Middle Ages down to the opening of the nineteenth century, stands far too much agony and sacrifice in human history to be repudiated in our own time.

Springfield *Republican*, December 6, 1903.

* * *

If, then, we truly believe in the liberty of conscience, speech, and press, we must place ourselves again squarely upon the declaration of rights made by our forefathers, and defend the right of others to disagree with us, even about the beneficience of government.

—THEODORE SCHROEDER.

" . . . in any totalitarian State the profession of writing is scarcely more than a skilled trade. If a writer must confine himself to expedient things he cannot attempt to speak the full truth about anything. The range is so narrow and spacious. A man who believes in writing as an honorable career may as well abandon it if his best thoughts and most sincere beliefs are subject to political approval. Freedom of speech is the right to be wholly alive.

—BROOKS ATKINSON.

MAN!

A Monthly Journal of the Anarchist Ideal and Movement

MARCUS GRAHAM, Editor

Subscription Price: $1.00 per year, 6 months-50c
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MAN! invites the collaboration of all workers and artists who are in sympathy with our ideas to send us essays, prose, poems, and drawings. No payment can be made. Where return of manuscript is desired sufficient postage should be included.

Administration and Editorial Address
MAN!, c/o The American Civil Liberties Union
129 West Second St., Los Angeles, Calif., U.S.A.

CORRESPONDENCE and DISCUSSION

Whatever We Have Dared To Think—That Dare We Also Say—JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL

A College Student Speaks

Dear Editor Graham:

Recently to my attention there came your interesting and noteworthy attempt to fight an impending war. From Los Angeles, the home of Victor McLaglen's Vigilantes and numerous other leeches on American liberty, comes your paper and we in the mid-western colleges are pleased to see it. We admire your fortitude in printing, what I feel to be the truth, in the midst of so many enemies. It reminds me somehow of a poem from the Spoon River Anthology. You remember the one in which the editor is lynched because he dared to write in his editorial columns of a Goddess of Liberty whose eyes are worm-eaten and blind.

Sincerely,

—DAVID WHITE.

* * *

Will Pray for Us

Dear Sir:

A copy of a paper called "Man" was sent to me. After reading it, I feel impelled to advise you to study a book called, "Man, The Unknown," written by Dr. Alexis Carrel.

Please do not send me any more literature. Being a Catholic I intend to pray for you and your associates. I have known many of your kind who were changed when the light came to them.

Sincerely,

—MARY McGEARY.

* * *

A Bolshevik's Way of Reasoning

Editor Man!:

Re: "After Twenty Years of Bolshevik Rulership," an article, October issue, "MAN!," 1937. How contemptible! How petty and insignificant are your presumptious authorities on life in the Soviet Union: New York **Times** . . . Brailsford . . . Max Eastman . . . Leon Trotsky . . . "Lady" La Folette . . . **Christian Science Monitor** . . . and Gide—from his "Return from the U.S.S.R."

What an assortment of viciousness! Keep it up little "MAN!" . . . Never mind decency. . . . Never mind truth and history. . . . Never mind anything! Indeed, "Never mind anything!" . . . for the struggle for "Civil Liberties" will be continued as ever by those who are genuinely concerned to attain it—without you and your pretentious, prating ilk.

—LOUIS DUBIN.

* * *

Have Leaders Ever Served the Masses?

Dear Marcus Graham:

I have been reading MAN! fairly regularly since it appeared. I enjoy practically the whole of every issue that I see. I especially enjoy your stuff. The feature article, beginning on the cover, always pleases me.

You are getting out a splendid magazine. Nearly everything in it clicks with me. The readers' letters and the discussions are good stuff, too.

Too many of the radical magazines devote too much space to theoretical matters — fiery debates between the apostles and the apostates of Marx and Lenin. Each side has a hell of a lot to shout at each other; each side shoots off brilliant fireworks. It must be entertaining to each other. Sometimes it is entertaining to the layman radical.

Most of the readers do not understand these theoretical problems of Marxism, Bakunin, Engels, Lenin. After all, I suppose, Stalin has the right idea. So does the other dictators. Stalin realizes that the long debates, the endless airing of individual ideas and interpretations, are vitiating. They breed worse strife and dissension. Look at the hundreds of official interpreters of the Bible, the hundreds of sects that use the Bible as a text-book, a dictionary, to define the one true and only religion.

And look at the radicals. They take Marx, Lenin, and Bakunin and the others as a text-book source to build up diverse radical sects. Each radical sect, more or less, base their party on certain tenets of Marxism, as they interpretate them. Each radical sect, just as the religious sects, once they have wrestled out a set of theoretical interpretations from one of the great leaders, set to work trying to forge them into an inflexible dogma. Once they work out their party program, including the paraphernalia of slogans, mottos, greetings and battlecries, they are as rigidly dogmatic as Calvinism, or Catholicism and any member of the group who accidentally continues to think, and differ, is instantly branded as a heretic and either suppressed or expelled. No party wishes to harbor an inconoclast in their ranks.

Stalin, knowing that the talk incessantly raging, the various interpretations, would wreck the party, got busy and eliminated the dissenters. Hitler is doing the same thing. Il Duce has been practicing that for years. So it goes. The members of a party, with each individual trying to force his interpretations on the masses, create a demand for an iron dictator who eliminates all except the yes-comrades. If he is a man of Steel, he succeeds, and saves his party. If he failed, and another branch won, a dictator would still be in demand, the warring would go on, causing perpetual bloodshed.

The situation is no better today, from the looks of things. The radical leaders better try to get together some way, and organize all the masses for a common goal. Get rid of hunger; provide clothing and shelter. Get rid of the capitalist masters. The capitalists are men of action, force. They use every weapon available for crushing the masses. And while they are doing this, reducing the people to greater privation, the radical leaders are debating, fighting each other, squabbling over theoretical problems. It is a sad spectacle.

In Austria the Social-Democrats held futile meetings, conducted long debates, and tried to parley with the fascists. All this while the workers, with open eyes and minds, saw the danger and the impending doom. Yet the leaders did nothing to protect the masses. And while these things were going on in the party, the Fascists were quitely and effectively preparing for the massacre. And, no doubt, the revolutionary leaders were surprised at the event, inevitable as it was, and the outcome. And they were practiced radicals, with examples across the borders of Austria, to put them wise. Yet how inept they were in the crisis! Thus the heroism of the masses was uselessly wasted, sacrificed, perhaps, in vain.

Fraternally,

—MATT SAY

* * *

A Single Taxer Dissents

Dear Mr. Graham:

I wish to thank you for the two copies of "Man." Nevertheless, I do not wish to subscribe to your paper. Though you are undoubtedly sincere in your belief, it does not appeal to a Single Taxer. We feel that you go as far wrong in one direction as do the Communists in the other. If you will take the trouble to read Henry George's reply to Pope Leo XIII, you will know why your philosophy is unacceptable to his followers.

Like your group, ours is few in numbers and a successful issue in our case may be as far distant as it is for you. We have, however, a tangible, workable program that is working reform in a minor degree in some localities. We hope that the beneficient character of these reforms will attract the attention of more and more men until finally monopoly will be stamped out. The money question as well as the religious question are minor factors, in our opinion.

We do not look upon man's problem as a moral one. We believe that Nature provides laws upon which a social science may be based. As society has developed, men have searched into the rules of Nature. From this study, the various sciences have come into existence. We believe that eventually men will come to an understanding of the laws that seek to govern his social life. Then, and only then, will the evils we witness to-day disappear.

Cordially yours,

—ROBERT L. McCAIG.

* * *

Technocrat Criticizes Anarchist Ideas

Should you talk or write for seven million times, seven years about such abstract words as Liberty, Freedom, or a Free Society—words that are tantamount to all other metaphysical expressions, you will never touch the first point of the physical in social affairs—the relations of the individual to the social unit—called political economy.

The apex of sociological analyses is plainly defined in the terms of "Rugged-or Anarcho-Individualism," as Anarchism Communism. The first can only be attained by the absolute ruler himself, as he can (and history tells us that he did) proclaim himself the God. The second is clearly defned by P. Kropotkin (in your own February issue) in four words, "All things for all." (**Man!** Page 93-2-34.)

Dozens of theories have been promulgated as an in between compromise, but since no one has yet found the exact borderline between private and public property (unless probably the bite that is already in ones mouth) as even the ideas you express is not strictly your own, therefore all these middle of the road travelers are in a muddy road, confused beyond any plan to extricate themselves.

Any statement to explain "explicitly what is meant by private ownership of land and tools," is absurd, and insanely so when one moculates the "bequeath principle," the base and root of mass exploitation, the forerunner of the sacred doctrine of private accumulation—private exploitation the means to this end,—with its resultant growth in the present "fish" system, commonly or erroneously known as the capitalist system.

It seems to me that the Technocrats have the most scientific economical plan whereby rule will be minimized to advice and council and security for all economically on an equal basis will enhance the possibilities of the development of understanding and reasoning giving a more comprehensive view of what really is liberty, and by elimination of most, if not all of the economic evils, man will have the leisure time and intelligence to attain Liberty in as full a measure as is humanly possible.

—PHIL A. CIPHER.

BOOK REVIEW

AFTER THE REVOLUTION—*By* I. A. DE SANTILLAN. 127 pages, bound, $1.25. Greenberg, publisher, 67 W. 44th St., New York, N. Y.

The author has marshalled together an indictment of the capitalist system from many angles. In the chapter "Essential factors of production" proof is brought forward that today one lone industrial country — United States—could supply the idustrial products required by the whole world. By "*the cooperation of the three essential factors of economy — land and its natural forces, human labor, and the machine,*" the author believes we could return to an economy of "*common sense.*"

The author readily accepts the machine as an all-important factor in creating the happy society of tomorrow. But his conscience seems somewhat to bother him on the certainty of this assumption, for one finds him writing: "*William Morris has executed precious works of ebony, but his system could not supply humanity with the furniture needed and his products would not enter social necessity.*"

May it be permitted to ask who is to render the arbitrary decision that Morris's works of ebony are not a social necessity, but all the world's artless furniture would be?

In another part of the book the author declares: "*Work will be a right, and at the same time, an obligation.*" To an authoritarian social-minded person this would sound as balmy marxian-music, but to an anti-authoritarian it sounds as so much pooh-pooh.

On page 96 one finds the author writing: "*Faced with starvation, the individual becomes an egoist; with abundance he may become generous, friendly and socially disposed.*" To say that such a statement is traduing the philosophy of egoism as expounded by Max Stirner is but to emphasize either the lack of understanding in the terms that the author makes use of, or some thing far worse.

After this, one need no longer be surprised to find on page 110 this assertion: "*What does it matter if people believe in God or the devil, if they are religious or atheists, Catholics or Protestants, conservatives or Socialists. We are interested simply in realizing the ideal of all who work . . . in a socialized economy.*"

The reader may be lead into another revelation. The author speaks as an anarchist and an anarcho-syndicalist as well. Would he lay claim only to the latter title, one's anarchist conscience would not be disturbed so much. For, every anarcho-syndicalist is but an economical marxian instead of a political one.

The book has been published under most unfortunate conditions. It was written *before* the author had joined the Government of Catalonia. And to add more oil to the troubled fires a speech of the author, as a cabinet minister, was added as a last chapter. And the resulting confusion is about as complete as could be guessed at.

On page 111 writes the author: "*Politics of the state have killed the socialist spirit and in a few years that great country left off being a symbol of liberty to become an ideal of bureaucrats.*" (The author speaks here of Russia, and I for one would like to be enlightened as to what kind of "liberty" prevailed in the "few years" spoken of.) "*This development might astonish and surprise many, but not the anarchists . . .*" And on page 113: "*Our experience has shown us that the change of rudders and ideologies, without removing the State, only aggravates the economic, social and moral evils.*" And still more emphatic on page 114: "*To deny the reactionary, anti-social and anti-proletarian significance of the State would be equivalnet to suicide.*"

And now to the boomerang-ending chapter of the book. Here one finds the same author singing a totally different song: "*The circumstances have changed. We have been obliged to enter the government which we accepted because there was no other way out. If yesterday we were predominantly a movement of opposition and of struggle . . . today we have to act as the builders of a new social world, politically and economically.*" (Page 116.)

The author never stated the indictment against his own book and actions any clearer than in his own prophesying words: "*The worst that could happen to us, aside from defeat in the fields of battle, would be the loss of our bearings, the neglect of our fundamental postulates.*" (Page 120-21.)

Regretfully, this is just what has happened with most of our Comrades in Spain, not at all only with the tragical ending of their blunder by entering a Government, but in their substituting for an economic-marxian philosophy (anarcho-syndicalism) in place of the anarchist one, as well as their still persistent attempt to justify their indefensible compromise — as Anarchists.

M. G.

FINANCIAL STATEMENT

(October 15-December 10)

Income: **One Dollar,** Receipt Nos., 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 110, 112, 120, 125, 126, 132, 139, 142, 145, 148. **Two Dollars,** 108, 113, 117, 118, 119, 121, 127, 128, 133, 134, 135, 137, 141, 144, 146, 149. **Three Dollars,** 107, 109, 124, 136. **Four Dollars,** 106, 114. **Six Dollars,** 147. **Ten Dollars,** 140. $32.50, 122; $0.70, 116; $1.05, 115; $1.25, 111; $0.50, 138; $1.50, 129, 143; $2.40, 123; $2.50, 131; $3.75, 130; TOTAL $132.65

Total Expenditures	$120.82
Deficit Previous Issue	43.55
	$164.37
TOTAL INCOME	132.65
DEFICIT	$ 31.72

ART and LITERATURE

On Hearing A Bethlehem Steel Program—Christmas, 1935.

Carols where the well-nourished throats
Express greater compass of digestion—
A silver mockery through the ether.
"Christ is born today."
Christ, the Carpenter, heaping up dividends
Of the blood-flecked metal;
The patched robes exchanged for smeared overalls.
Blinding flare of the red ovens!
Today, Christ gets a holiday
And is marched to the microphone.
(O Calvary of the bleeding picket-line;
The mocking crown of poverty;
The directors casting lots:
Thieves mocking the rebels.)
His bosses rest from peddling guns
And belch, "Peace on earth."

—HAROLD PREECE.

* * *

Noel, Noel on Beacon Hill

Christmas Cheer / *Plates of fudge*
On Beacon Hill / *Good-will and Peace.*
Louisburg Square / *Holy Night*
And Charlestown Jail. / *Open-night—*
Blow the trumpet—
A bit of chill / *Christ was born*
On Beacon Hill / *For rich man strumpet*
Is usually found / *Pious forlorn.*
The year around.
Christmas Cheer
As we live! / *Noel Noel—*
On Chrismtas Eve / *On Louisburg Square*
Open-Huose: / *On Brahmin Hill.*

Artistic handles / *Holy Night*
Colonial doors / *Holy Night*
Smell of candles / *Open-night—*
Smell of grouse / *Go to Mass—*
Pudding and chickens: / *Go to Mass—*
Polished floors / *Good night.*
Bach fugues
DeLuxe Dickens / *Choke us with gas*
And Cabot Lodge; / *Fill us with lead—*
Guarding police / *Christ has fled.*
Watching the rogues

—HARRY BLOCK

* * *

Hell

Hell is across the street where a tired
Mother walks the floor holding a baby that
Is crying for milk . . . for bread.
Across the street from the church where a
Lying preacher yells about going to hell
After death . . . where an ignorant choir sings
"In the Sweet by and by" never thinking about
The "sweet now and now."

—WILLIAM ALLEN WARD.

* * *

Athens

Dream of Themistocles—junk on the jetty;
City of Socrates—subway to ride;
Power of Pericles—politics petty;
Vision of Plato—a chatering guide.

* * *

Landscape

Gold—and the wake of the dredger is barren forever;
Lumber—the virginal mountains denuded and raped;
Oil—and the skeleton obelisks straddle the night;
Wealth—and the monster of Chaos reconquers the void.

* * *

Version

"Mitoki loves Kathrin"—half-literate scrawl
Surviving in chalk on the factory wall;
Mitoki loves Kathrin—until he shall learn
That the world forbids Kathrin to love him in turn.

* * *

Observation

This is vulgarity, where dime-a-dance
And lady barbers supplement burlesque,
Where beer-a-nickel flaunts above grotesque
Pathetic negro whores . .
And this romance
Where polished motor-cars disgorge their groomed
Men and their furry ladies, where life's lust
Remains aesthetic and polite?
The dust
Beyond the tracks holds fewer of the doomed.

—GEORGE HEDLEY.

* * *

Workers of America

We are the dead men the Americans the mud men
Lives of death in monstrous cities
Bringers of pay and no pay to the cluster
Of souls bred by the earth of our loins

Hard like the pain of empty houses
Calloused unknown crippled by worries
Divided among ourselves with fears in our hearts
Lost in the steel jungles of this dead system

We elcetric men city men factory men
Walking like stiffs back and forth in the streets of these cities
Our visages continually bitten by death
The feel and the sight of us everywhere
Living in death, gears of machines
Each paled by household wants and like shapes
In the shadows of prisoning shops
The dead mornings the dead noons the dead nights

We are the seekers of work
Waiting for want
We the dead men familiar in unfrienaly streets

Haunted living among ourselves
And the unconscious strength of creation
In our bodies in our loins in our heads
We die year in and year out we never live

We the dead men the Americans the mud men
We the productive lives of the earth

Multitudinous as the sands of the grey beaches
Not together but groping fearfully together
Knowing the cities we live in and the crook
Of them like our starving bodies the life
Of them under polluted skies

And our strength aching to grasp
The machines of these cities for our own planning for life

We imprisoned in the dark of this time
Like skeletons in the dollars of earth.
Knowing the strength in our collective selves

We the dead men the Americans the electric men the mud men
Real and unliving in suffocating weathers.

—VINCENT FERROUS.

FRIENDLY ENEMIES

While I am working for peace, you are preparing for invasion and throat-cutting. So run the head-lines in the newspapers. Am I to believe such a scheme? I have forgotten your name, but you are not unknown to me. We met. Do you remember? We met for the first time on a winter day on the Somme. It was in 1917. You had just been taken prisoner but I could read some deep joy in your eyes. A few months later, by a freak of fate, I was assigned as a guard in prisoners' camp—your camp. Then, I learned who you were, and in spite of rules and regulations, we exchanged ideas. Do you remember how we became friendly enemeis?

I do! You told me that your mother was waiting for you. I am no longer sure whether it was near Nuremberg or Breslau. Your mother had just written that she was less worried since she knew that you were far from the front lines. You spoke to me about your sweetheart and both of us leaned over the same picture. You also showed me childrens' pictures—your brothers' —and I thought they were just like those we had home. And when you had carefuly rearranged and put back those precious papers, I was surprised and happy to see in your eyes the reflection of my tender heart.

Then, we were more than friendly enemies, we were brothers.

Surely we were brothers. Was I not welcomed in your home, in the Duchy of Baden in 1918? I remember it very well. Your parents were living near Kehl. . . . John was your father's name. We were cold. They burned their supply of coal for us. And let me confess that I have kept a stirring memory of that good bed, your bed, made from grey goose-down and given to me by your mother.

And now, my dear enemy, you want to harness yourself to another big fight. Is it possible? But why? Why? Why? Are your parents and brothers dead? Has your sweetheart or your wife, turned against you? Did you sink under such a load of misfortune that your reason has led you to such an abberation that you wish to carry fire and crime into our homes? Are you being driven to such insane deeds by your calamities? Or has Spring lost its sweetness, its evening quietness that the radiant hours of throbbing are no longer felt? Has love and its caresses, that sweet joy of the mind, that powerful satisfaction which goes with the creative action, has all that been prohibited? Or, again,—I dare not believe it—you have forgotten the fatigues, the mud, the deathrattles, the dirth, blood and death? Will you leave your family, work and happiness at the offensive sound of the bugle-call to kill? Will your heart be again full of hatred and will your mouth hurl cursing abuses?

Well, it is understood, you will come. We shall fight. With masks on we shall dig trenches. To infernal firearms, poison gas, and fire, we shall oppose our weak dam of flesh. In the depths of us the ancestral brute will awaken, and blindly we will use our arms and strike before us, offering our carcasses to the vultures. Perhaps, you will survive to be the satisfied victor. Will that prove that you were right in cutting my throat? I might be the victor and live with the constant torturing remorse of having killed you. Or both of us will be dead. What shall we have gained? Tell me?

It is understood. You will come back. But we shall not fight. You will come back loaded down with grenades, followed by thousands of dreadful faces of death. Then I shall ask you. What do you intend to do here? Have you forgotten that winter day in the Somme? It was in '17. A few months later, after you had showed me the pictures of your sweetheart and brothers, I was surprised and happy. I had caught in your eye the reflection of my tender heart. We were more than friendly enemies, we were brothers.

Thus, when you come back, I shall say to you. Be welcome! Here is my home, my wife, my children. Come in, my dear enemy. Rest your aching feet. You are hungry? Sit at my table and eat. Come near the stove, it is cold! And here is my bed, a bed that will remind you of your own made with grey goose-down. . . .

Now, after that, if you still feel like doing it, you will turn your machine-gun and gas upon us, and you will assault us with your bayonet. We shall die by your hand, by the hand of a friendly enemy, by the hand of our brother.

However, here, I have to apologize. Indeed, seventeen years of interrupted relations must not be renewed by slanderous suppositions. My newspaper lies! I know it! Your newspaper lies to you and you also know it. And so, by this letter to you, I renew our brotherly feelings. As playthings of evil powers, so shall we meet again some day. But as hatred is banished from our hearts, we shall go towards each other with our hands outstretched to unite in the one and only creed, the creed of peace and brotherly love among men.

Your brother,

Charles Boussinot

(*Translated from "Le Barrage" by J. S.*)

SQUATTER'S CAMP

Down behind the leaves that stretched long dark arms to grab the storm monster by the throat, they had come to build homes, for even a man out of a job gets cold when the blizzard comes howling like a gaunt, gray wolf. They came from the Northern industrial centers where no longer at dawn gray smoke curls upward from the nostrils of the mills, for the mills had closed. Also they came from the Middle West for scourage after scourage had driven the tiller from the soil. From the South and from the West they also came, to build homes in the river bottoms. On the banks of the lazy Trinity that creeps on rheumatic feet through Dallas, the squatters settled, first in what was called Hoover City, for a gentleman by that name, now forgotten except by millionaires who buy the presidential chair every four years at auction for an antique. But as the depression continued through the Rooseveltian era of "good times," the people called the settlement — 'squatters' camp. Some newspaper writer with a hobby for composing metaphors, called the camp a cancer on the white bosom of society. But the tired mother who lived in an old ragged army tent, and whose baby was crying for milk called it "hell," for she knew that hell existed on Earth instead of hereafter.

A dismal autumn rain was turned into daggers of sleet when Big Ben Hawkins came walking along what outsiders called Desperado alley, when a cop called out: "hands up—nigger . . . we want you . . . better reach for the sky." "But I ain't done nothin'," Big Ben said, "and I ain't a nigger—I am white." The cop, with a big belly that stuck out and who looked very much like an inverted beer bottle leered; "You ain't a nigger—eh? Well, that ain't what they say back in Marshall . . . see, we been checkin' up on you fer a long time at the request of relief agents and we found out that yore great grand dad wuz a mulatto and that he wuz a slave in Alabam . . . and besides, we already found out that you got a kid sixteen years old diggin' ditches on a PWA job over in the levees . . . come on—lets go."

An hour later Big Ben stood before the relief administrator.

"You are a liar," snapped the very businesslike agent of "mercy." "We have found that you have falsified about needing government assistance . . . you have a child, a boy who is on government relief work. . . . Well, what have you to say about that?"

"But I have six children to take care of and two are sick—one has t.b.," Big Ben explained. "And I also have a wife who isn't strong."

But Ben lost his government job that paid $12 a week. Squatters grumbled and a relief agent heard about it and accused them of being Communists. But the squatters didn't mind—they didn't even know what that word meant! . . . no more than they knew the meaning of Democracy.

That night a grocery store was robbed. There was food in the shanty of Big Ben, the nigger. But detectives and relief agents soon were on the job and Ben again was arraigned before a judge and a jury. He got five years in Huntsville. Society now is pondering why, Ben's three daughters are prostitutes and the mother is a shop lifter . . . !

"People in the squatters' camp just do not deserve any sympathy," a social worker said. "They are born to love the social morass—the jungle."

William Allen Ward

ANDRE GIDE CHANGES HIS MIND ABOUT RUSSIA

André Gide does not belong to those writers, that have become famous over night. When he became known even but only in his fatherland, in the classical land of the modern European literature—in France, he already had behind him a great part of his life and of his life-work. If he has not suffered need, he had to thank this to the inheritance of the parents—the number of copies of his till-now famous works could not feed him for one year. The last years before his approach to Communism Gide was likewise already famous in his own country as outside the borders of France, yet he remained a writer not of the large masses. Only his unexpected approach to Communism and his unexpected struggle against the Soviet Union regime have made him famous in the entire world, have placed his name in everyone's mouth.

What constitutes Gide's chief quality as a writing personality?

Gide is a truth-seeker of extraordinary courage. Truth—this is his greatest quality. His whole writing career is one long straight road of struggle with lies in the personal and societary life. Gide has often changed his gods—but always out of inner conceptions, out of inner necessity. He does not throw his forceful into the face of society: you bathe in lies! — because he wishes to create noise around him, or to hurt any one,—he fights lies and struggles for the truth—wherever and in what he should not see it!—because, because it pains *him*, because *he* finds himself forced in telling the truth. Just as there are those who are forced-liars, that is, such people, who must say lies, because it is their sickness, so there are also people, who live under the need for saying the truth; this is their sickness.

Such a one is Gide. His diary, his poems and prose (also sort of a diary) are the truth-drops of an ever-moving stream of Gide's truth-seeking process, that must confess itself, admit, combat, realize and preach. He couldn't even keep back within himself such a truth, that seldom anyone has the courage to confess (especially in writing, in printed words, designed for publication) when he disclosed before the world his perverted-erotical life. And he did this not out of snobical cynism, but because he must be true to the law of his life: telling the truth. It is sufficient to read Gide's autobiography in order to detect Gide's highest life-law and, like, also his writing law, because the process of Gide's life falls together with his writing process. Because what is really Gide's creativeness? The *deepest* of his life-process and the most *beautiful* stylistic embodiment.

Gide came to the Communism with body and life, with his whole youthful passion; he had discovered a new *God* and he turned to him without assurance or calculations, as he was always used to. But it is just this, that the Communists have considered him as a hero before, they now throw up to him. If on the doors of Dante's Hell, there is an inscription, that whoever enters, should give up hope, then upon the doors of Stalin's Kingdom should be made the inscription: whoever enters here, should leave the love on truth on the border. Gide has come to the communism with his whole personality —the conflict was unavoidable.

In his second booklet about the Soviet Union (appeared in June) that carries the name, "Corrections toward my Return from the USSR." (Retouches a mon Retour de l'U.R.S.S.)

Gide says several bitter words about Romain Rolland: *"The publication of my "Return from the Soviet Union" has brought me a number of unpleasantnesses. Romain Rolland's has cost me wealth. His writings were never to my heart's liking; but his moral personality I esteem very highly. And my pain comes from this: how seldom are men, who reach the end of their lives, before they prove to put an end to their greatness, I believe that the author of "Over the Wrangle"* (so is named Rolland's essay-collection, written in the time of the war. Probably the most beautiful document of high humaness and citizenship courage in the war-time—I. R.) *will adjudge strongly the aged Rolland. This eagle has made himself a nest; he is resting himself there."*

Between the lines of this powerful attack is to be found Gide's proudness (his and ours—as fellowmen): he has left the comfortable nest, that was arranged for him in Soviet Russia, flew at old age out of Russia to new combats for the truth with such a youthful passion and such a force in the eagle's wings, that we get the certainty: no matter how seldom should not be those people, that their greatness does not die before their physical death—there are though such as Gide is at the present moment one of these—of the most courageous.

* * *

A three-fold courage was needed to act, as Gide has acted.

Easiest was for Gide (although this too is a test) to show thanklessness for the imperial greeting that was made for him in Soviet Russia: special trains, the best hotels, continuous festivals, and large honors; harder it was to give one's self so quickly in light-belief; more harder was to place one's self a naked one before the meanest attacks, suspicions and insults (and Gide stands a naked one, because he has in his writings himself uncovered in absolute nakedness).

What a stream of dirt has spilled itself upon the old Gide! Signs of these we find in his second booklet about the Soviet Union. The booklet is a reply on the several earnest critics, who have endeavored to smash Gide factually; yet one finds signs of the dirt stream, that was let out upon him through the dirt-reservoir of the *Pravda* with her international reservoirs. We have already seen (at the excerpt about Rolland) how short and sharp Gide destroys these attackers with one thrust of his powerful language-weapon. Also the other mean-intentioned critics he dispenses with (and discards) with one sentence: *"If I should satisfy myself with admiring, you would not make this upbraidness (in being superficial); and just then I would have deserved it."*

This is applicable not only as to the upbraiding of superficiality; no upbraidness would then be made to him; not about his perverted-eroticism and not about the good business (to earn heavily, to avoid fighting with conscienceless, not very-considerate opponents).

* * *

Among the "earnest" upbraidings there has often let itself be heard the one, that Gide is occupying himself too much with culture-questions, with common intelectual questions: freedom of the spirit—something to worry about! Says Gide: Good! and betters his "error" in the second booklet. Here he speaks already of material things, with figures and facts. Gide is not an affluent writer: within the space of 60 small pages (the other part of the book is taken up about Soviet Russia and with excerpts of his diary during his tour in Soviet Russia, where there are extraordinary facts. For instance: under no circumstances is he allowed to get near Bukharin, who wants to talk to him. Bukharin was already, as it seems, then marked as a victim) we obtain an annihilating analysis of the most important wounds of the Russian Soviet regime: the workers as bodily-owned by the State; the powerful, ever-growing differentiation between the earnings of the workers and the earnings of the "responsible" (responsible to Stalin; irresponsible to Socialism, to the Russian workers); terror—against those thinking otherwise. In this condemned but powerful accusation—material is supported the main thesis of Gide's second combat ing-publication against Stalin's regime: Soviet Russia is established on propaganda; gigantic sums of money are being spent, in order to fool the Knaves, bribe those without a conscience, and cover up the truth about the Soviet Russian reality. And this conscienceless propaganda must be combatted not only because it is lying, but also because there lies within this a great danger for socialism.

The propaganda knots two conceptions: Soviet Russia and Socialism, and since Soviet Russia is going toward a catastrophe on the entire front of the October achievements; at any rate, it will give a blow to Socialism. These two things must be separated. The truth must be uncovered, no matter how painful it should be, no matter how loud the cry of treachery should be. Not the truth-revealers are betraying but the truth-concealing ones. In Soviet Russia have been destroyed all the October achievements; in Soviet Russia there are again growing up all the negative sides of European capitalism. *"Due to the greatness of your bluff,"* cries out Gide,—*"my pain is so deep and hurtful in the case of my trust, my enthusiasm, of my joy."*

* * *

A small but powerful accusation-act, a stranger one than the first one. And Gide tells why this is so: only after his first booklet, wherein he made note of his impressions, he has begun to study the literature about Soviet Russia (not the propaganda literature), and he has reached those sources, from which streamed forth his impressions.

Gide's accusations are stronger not because he has obtained much factual material, but also due to two other causes: his first impressions become more thoughtful, riper; and second: in the first booklet is felt yet the resistance, the three resistances about which I have spoken above, — his seeking the truth has to break through, his uncertainty is still being felt: Am I just? Should I do this? Is my small truth not a wrong for the sake of a greater one? In the second booklet the resistance is already since long broken; the certainty in truth and in its importance is complete. This is also noticeable in his attitude toward terror. In the first booklet there are several words about the persecutions of dissenters, but in the second booklet he devotes these victims of the Stalin regime, these tragical freedom-heroes, such devastating lines that ought not to go off the radio programs a whole year.

"And the exiled, and the thousands . . . those, who have not known, or didn't want to bow their head low and as much as was needed. It is not necessary for me to think as did these days M . . . "to the devil everything! This could have also happened to me one nice day . . . " I see, hear these victims, I feel them all around me. Their choked cries have awakened me tonight; their silence dictates today to me the following lines. Because I have thought of these martyrs, I have written these words, against which you are protesting, and also because, the mute acknowledgment of those, if my book could reach to them, is more important to me than the eulogies and the curses of the Pravda.

"In behalf of these no one intervenes. The most, only rightist newspapers utilize them, in order to brand a regime, which they hate; those, who love justice and freedom, those, who are fighting for Thaelmann, the Barbusses, the Rollands, have become silent; and around them the endless masses of the blinded proletariat."

I. Rapoport

ON THE BLOCK

"Atheism is destroying civilization," wails his Holiness, the Pope.

What a topsy-turvy world it turned out to be; Mussolini's bombs bring civilization—and atheism destroys it. . . .

* * *

"You should have contempt for a comfortable life," yelped Mussolini to a 600,000 gathering in Germany, who were so much encaptivated by the splendid idea that they cheered themselves hoarse.

It strikes us those cheering yokels find more comfort in death anyway. . . .

* * *

And Bruno Mussolini is an "idealist," eh? We kinda thought he was something like that. Those Ethops could never have dreamt of loftier ideals than the ones he showered upon them from the skies. . . .

* * *

Open letter to the President.

Sir:—It was an eloquent and timely speech you have delivered on October 5th, in Chicago. We regret, however, to tell you that it seems to us you were grossly misinformed about the aims of Anarchism when you alluded to the bombings of innocent women and children as creating a state of "international anarchy." May we remind you, sir, that this ruthless extermination of people is being committed by organized governments who rule their citizens by the grace of law and order.

And may we further remind you that Anarchism does not preach any such doctrine of murdering women and children. Should you ever, Mr. President, wish to acquaint yourself with its philosophy we would be very pleased to recommend you to read Mutual Aid, by Peter Kropotkin.

Very respectfully yours,

—SANTA-PANTA.

* * *

It is our notion if Green and Lewis would have to work for a living they'd be fighting the bosses instead of each other.

* * *

Believe it or not, in a city somewhere in New Jersey they discovered the mayor and his four commissioners taking graft.

Who would have ever thunk it? . . .

* * *

Here is a good joke, boys: Germany promises to guarantee "neutrality" in a new pact with Belgium.

If you happen to remember her guarantee of 1914 you should sing this refrain:

What a promise to a Raper
Given on a "Scrap of Paper." . . .

We predict not one of the Bolsheviks that were sent away to heaven will have a chance in the coming election.

* * *

Every time the portfolio-carriers invite Il Duce to a round table talk another bombardment is heard in Spain.

There's a guy that carries dynamite with every word he says. . . .

* * *

Incidentally, why did the Communist Party launch a vigorous boycotting campaign against Japanese goods and entirely ignores Italo-German commodities. Is it because the tovaristchi haven't discovered any Troytskyites in China yet?

* * *

Do not be disturbed because stocks are dropping; there will always be some fat belly to pick 'em up. . . .

* * *

It was very nice of our First Lady to dig up an excuse of going on a lecture tour so as to be absent when the Duke of Windsor comes around (long since cancelled). We only wonder why couldn't she find a similar excuse to absent herself from the tea party given in honor of Vittorio Mussolini. After all said and done the Duke is no murderer. . . .

* * *

Junior: Say, daddy, if you'd seen a great big awful-looking man cutting up another man's throat with a knife, what would you do?

Father: Well, sonny, if he's so big and has a knife there's nothing I could do about it.

Junior: I knew you couldn't tackle a big brute like that; but supposin' next morning he comes an' wants to sell you what he took away from the killed man, would you buy it?

Father: What are you driving at, sonny?

Junior: Well, look how a big bandit killed the Spanish people and those respectable Englishmen buy up all the goods he took away from them.

Father: Sonny, you're only a kid now; wait 'till you grow up to be a big business man and you won't ask such foolish questions. . . .

* * *

What we fail to understand is this: Hitler and Mussolini both are sharpening their knives on Communism—actually they covet very much Russia's fertile lands. Why doesn't Stalin have enough pride to at least severe his trade relations with them?

(We could almost hear our clever exclaim: "Business is business, you dope.")

(To which we retort: "We are not as dumb as you think, smarties; of course we might have been a little foolish to suppose that Marxists wouldn't be so lacking in a conscience as those damn capitalists. . . .)

Santa-Panta